1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

with having deserted Kāvēri for Kanaké, a semi-divine woman, who later assumed the form of a river, joining the Kāvēri at Bhāgamandḷa. This annoyed Agastya who cursed his disciples, 'Brahmins of Matsyadēsha [traditional name for Coorg in the Sanskritic myths], let not the people of this land obey you. Let them not give you enough to support you.' The distressed disciples appealed to Mother Kāvēri against her husband's curse. She took pity on them and told them that so long as they believed in her they would not find it difficult to support themselves.

In November 1834 some Amma Coorgs donned the sacred thread at Balmuri on the banks of the Kāvēri. They became followers of the Brahmin monastery (*maṭha*) in Rāmachandrapura in Shimoga District in Mysore State. In 1847 the head of this monastery sent them instructions as to the ritual they were entitled to perform. Amma Coorgs from Kiggaṭnāḍ who had not donned the sacred thread in 1834 did so a few years later at the Irpu temple under the auspices of the Brahmin monastery at Kānūr in Uḍipi in South Canara. Sometime afterwards a few Amma Coorgs who still remained unattached to a monastery became disciples of the monastery at Subramaṇya in South Canara.[1]

Amma Coorgs exemplify a tendency which has always been present in the caste system: a small group of people break off from a larger whole of which they are a part, Sanskritize their customs and ritual, and achieve a higher status than their parent-body in the course of a few decades.

The main body of Coorgs do not contain any subdivisions today, but formerly, during the time of the Rājas, they were divided into two groups called 'Saṇṇa' and 'Malla' Coorgs. These are Kannaḍa, and not Koḍagi, terms, and elderly informants say that these terms were used only by the Kannaḍa-speaking outsiders and not by Coorgs themselves. This sounds somewhat far-fetched, though there does not seem to have been a sharp line dividing the Saṇṇa and Malla Coorgs. 'Saṇṇa' in Kannaḍa means 'small', and 'Malla' means 'big', and the terms were derived from the two different varieties of rice, one big and the other small. The latter variety is superior to the former, and Saṇṇa Coorgs regarded themselves as superior to Malla Coorgs.

Richter tells us that 'Saṇṇa Coorgs may originally have formed a small nucleus connected with their Nāyakas or chiefs who were

[1] N. Chiṇṇappa, *Paṭṭōlé Paḷumé*, pp. 20–21.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

exterminated by the usurping Rājas of the Ikkēri family, and may in their own eyes have constituted a sort of aristocracy; while Malla Coorgs represented the aggregate main body which was augmented by new accessions from kindred tribes'. He further states that Malla Coorgs include 'those whose descent from Wynāḍ Cheṭṭis or other foreign connexions is traditionally known, for it is no secret among the Coorgs that such additions have been made to their number and the house-names of such bear witness to the fact'.[1]

He also mentions that a poor Coorg was relegated to the inferior group, while a well-to-do Coorg, or one who held a high post in the government, claimed to be a Saṇṇa Coorg.

Cole tells us that Saṇṇa Coorgs greatly outnumbered the Malla Coorgs, that marriages between the two were not frequent, and that the Saṇṇa Coorgs were scattered all over Coorg while Malla Coorgs were more or less confined to north Coorg.[2]

The last point made by Cole seems particularly open to doubt as there seem to have been some Malla Coorgs in the extreme south. Again Saṇṇa Coorgs seem to have been concentrated in Coorg south of Mercara, and it has already been mentioned that the southerners regarded themselves as being superior to the northerners.

The early writers on Coorg refer to a division of Coorgs called 'Boḍḍu Coorgs'. Coorgs south of Mercara seemed to have regarded the Coorgs settled in north Coorg, in Yeḍavanāḍ, Gaḍināḍ, and Surlabhimuttunāḍ as inferior to themselves in intelligence. Hence the appellation '*boḍḍu*', which means 'stupid'. Richter and Cole[3] differ as to who the Boḍḍu Coorgs were, but it seems certain that Boḍḍu Coorgs were small pockets of the Coorg community scattered in areas inhabited mostly by Tuḷu Gauḍas and Kannaḍa Okkaligas. They were influenced by the customs and manners of the latter castes, and occasionally these groups even intermarried. The situation was further complicated by the fact that both Tuḷu Gauḍas and Kannaḍa Okkaligas aspired to pass off for Coorgs.

Boḍḍu Coorgs were then Coorgs who lived at some distance from the main core of their group. Marriages between Boḍḍu

[1] G. Richter, *Castes and Tribes found in Coorg*, Bangalore, 1887, pp. 21–22.
[2] R. A. Cole, *Manual of Coorg Law*, 1861, secs. 3, 5, 6.
[3] Ibid., sec. 3; Richter, *Castes and Tribes found in Coorg*, pp. 21–22.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

Coorgs and other Coorgs were not very frequent. Saṇṇa Coorgs looked down upon Boḍḍu Coorgs whose customs and manners were somewhat different from their own: differences between cognate groups as to minute points of custom and ritual frequently come to stand for the identity of each of them as against the others. This is a common feature of caste.

A point which needs stressing because it is not very typical of the caste system is the comparative ease with which Coorgs admitted into their fold non-Coorgs belonging to fairly high castes. Moegling wrote in 1855, 'strangers are received among them and naturalised without difficulty, and such as have been excommunicated are received without much ado'.[1] Richter, writing sixteen years later, says that 'even within the memory of the present generation strangers were received by and incorporated with the Coorgs. There is now a dispute pending about six families in Kiggaṭnāḍ, who ten years ago were, by the Head Sheristedar Nanchappa, received as Coorgs, but after his death were expelled from the clan [caste] by the rest of the people. The settlement of the dispute will perhaps be only a matter of time. . . .'[2] Formerly some families of Wynāḍ Cheṭṭis, Kannaḍa Okkaligas, and Tuḷu Gauḍas were received into the Coorg fold. The complete absorption of recruits from other castes naturally took some time, and till it was accomplished the conservative Coorg families did not freely intermarry with the new recruits. Even now one hears a Coorg elder saying, 'such-and-such a family are really Kannaḍa Okkaligas who called themselves Coorgs 50 or 60 years ago. Until recently Coorgs would think twice before inter-marrying with them.'

IV

There are more than forty main castes and tribes in Coorg, but Coorgs come into intimate contact with only a few of them. A very brief account of their relations with each of these castes will now be given. It is important to add that the duties mentioned against each caste might frequently be performed by similar castes of equivalent status: for instance, it might be either a Tuḷu Brahmin or Malabar Brahmin who performs the priestly duties at a village temple, and the Tuḷu Brahmin is again split up into Shivaḷḷi and

[1] *Coorg Memoirs*, p. 55. [2] *Manual of Coorg*, pp. 231–2.

2:Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AW5 Coorg AW5

584 The marriage is at present arranged by the families of the young people. The family of the young man approaches the family of a girl who is considered a suitable match and after much discussion arrangements are made; the girl is informed of them and in most cases she acquiesces. The authority of the family is ideally supreme. Young people have many opportunities of meeting, or at least of seeing one another, and as we should expect, matches that are not likely to be endurable are tacitly avoided by the elders of the family. Cases are known however where a girl has refused the arranged marriage and for various reasons elder members of her family have agreed with her and prevented the marriage; cases are also known where a young man after suggesting for himself a particular girl and carrying with him most of the other members of his family has found opposition from an elderly female member who disapproves of the girl and he has had to give up his idea. Life in a joint family, as is well known in other parts of India, is a matter [596] of the adjustment of conflicting stresses. The evidence of the [593] marriage song seems to show that at some time in the past a young man went out himself to look for a suitable girl and settled 584 the matter himself, without reference to his family until the time ●174 for the formal arrangement arrived. There is probably some 533 historical truth in the account, but the period at which this [014] was the custom is not known. Richter's account of 1870 implies, though it does not mention explicitly, a state of things like that at the present day.

584 When a marriage is to be formally arranged and fixed, the aruvē[1] of the young man's family accompanied by representatives of this family, e.g. the man's father, his elder brother, or a brother-in-law, go to the house of the girl's family. There they meet the aruvē and the representatives of the girl's family. Formally the man's party declare that he will marry the girl and the girl's party that they will give the girl, and the aruvēs guarantee that [342] their respective parties will hold to the agreement. The ceremony is performed in the nellaki of the house, i.e. the portion of [778] the central hall opposite the door, where a lamp hangs. It is regarded as the sacred part of the house and apparently the sanctity centers in the lamp, before which prayers are offered in the evening to the ancestors of the sib (or nowadays to any [585] other gods in addition). Most of the ceremonies to be described

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[1] Two sibs stand in mutual relationship to one another, so that each provides an aruvē for the other on certain ceremonial occasions. Their duties in connexion with marriages are described in the text. At a funeral the aruvē is present and seems to have been originally entrusted with supervision of the ceremonial. At present the office tends to become a mere formality and the aruvē does not necessarily come from the traditional sib. The man of the traditional sib is called mannaruvē 'land-aruvē'; one who is engaged for the occasion only is ponnaruvē 'gold-aruvē' and this term seems to carry with it some derogatory connotation.

2: Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AW5 Coorg AW5

585 After this ceremony of dismissal the guests generally nowadays
[574] return to the house for further conviviality.

The bridegroom spends such part of the night as may be necessary in travelling to the bride's house so that he may
[777] arrive about four or five o'clock in the morning. All the time previously he has spent in his own room and has not removed any article of his dress (it is said to bring bad luck if he or the bride takes off a single article of clothing or ornament until the two of them are together in his room on the following night). The bride meanwhile has got what sleep she can in her room in
[614] her own house. The bridegroom is accompanied by his aruvë and a party of his sib-members, including females. His mother and father stay at home to await the arrival of him and the bride. One of the girls or women of the party carries a basketry box (po:|ia) filled completely with an odd number of measures of rice, an odd number of coconuts, some plantains, jaggery, betel-leaf and arecanut, and a kundi of milk such as was used at the ceremonies of the previous day. This she is supposed to carry all the distance, but the requirement is fulfilled if she carries it out of her house and then hands it to a servant or a male of the party, who again hands it to her when the bride's house is reached. She then hands it to a girl or woman of the bride's house who carries it inside. The pot of milk is used in the following joint-ceremony by the bridegroom's sib-members in feeding the bride. The other articles seem to have no part in the ceremony but are left at the bride's house. When the bride finally goes to her husband's house after her visit to her own home, she brings with her the box filled with eatables.

When the groom's party reaches the bride's house they are met by the bride's party and salutations are exchanged. They go to the pasture near the house and six plantain stems are cut through by the bridegroom or a member of his party in the same manner as three were cut at each house in the dismissal of the members of the bride's and groom's mother's sibs.[1] Then the

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[1] This cutting of plantain stems by the bridegroom's party has been conjectured to be a vestigial trace of marriage by capture. It seems highly doubtful however whether this can be the case. If only the bridegroom's party cut stems on arriving at the bride's house and the bride's on arriving at the bridegroom's house, we might consider that we had symbols of the bride's abduction and an attempt at rescue by her relatives. It will be noticed however that during the course of the wedding ceremonies there are altogether four occasions when plantain stems are cut. The bridegroom or some member of his party cuts six, some member of the bride's party cuts six, and the other two sibs most nearly interested, those of the groom's and bride's mothers, each cut three, the eldest male member being the person to whom the sword is offered. Considering that the Coorg marriage system was originally in all probability one of cross-cousin marriages, we may work out the complicated possibilities and it will be found that the present details as to who cuts the plantain stems and at which house they are cut, lend no support to a theory that Coorg marriage was originally one of capture. We may conjecture of course that

2:Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AW5 Coorg AW5

parties go to the house and eat a meal. After this the bridegroom is seated in the nellaki on a stool, the bride is brought out and seated on a stool near him, and a joint-ceremony of rice-sprinkling, milk-feeding and giving of gifts takes place. The bride's mother, or her substitute as on the previous day, first performs the ceremony for the bridegroom and is followed by all the members of the party of the bride, while at the same time the ranking male member of the bridegroom's sib is doing it for the bride, followed by all the members of the bridegroom's party. After all have done the ceremony, the bridegroom is raised up by the man who has acted as his supporter on the previous day and performs the ceremony for the bride. He then takes her hand and raises her from her stool. She at once runs into the kitchen and stands there, waiting modestly.

At this point the two parties, bridegroom's and bride's, separate and form two lines facing one another. A formal conversation takes place between the parties whereby the bridegroom's party admit the bride as a member of their sib and the aruvēs undertake their duties, the one belonging to the bridegroom's sib that he will see that the bride is treated well, the one belonging to the bride's sib that if she returns to her father's house and refuses to rejoin her husband he will initiate a settlement of the matter. This, the sammanda, is the central point of the ceremonies. Before it has taken place, the bride is not yet married; after it, she is a member of her husband's sib even if her husband should die before the physical consummation of the marriage. The text of the necessary formulas will be given here; in practice other words may be added at various points, e.g. in the lists of things to which the bride acquires a right, but none, or very few of the words given, may be omitted. The names given in this text are those of my informant and his first wife; in the case of the aruvēs the sib names are correct, but the personal names are merely type-names. A member of the bride's party who knows the words begins: daṇḍu kaḍe na:ḍo:nu: daṇḍu kaḍe bendu: aṇgēnaruvēnu:[1] sa:lu santa:na

these present details are not original, but a reconstruction which attempted to reconcile cross-cousin marriage and marriage by capture by meddling with the known details in the matter of cutting down the plantain stems would be in the highest degree conjectural. My informants say that in all cases the sword is offered to do honour to the recipient's party. It seems most reasonable to suppose that it is a vestigial trace, not of marriage by capture, but of the warlike tradition of the Coorgs. Each sib concerned nearly in the marriage is given an opportunity to show its ability with the sword, the chief traditional weapon of the Coorgs, with which enemies were beheaded, and the two sibs concerned most nearly are given the opportunity to cut double the number. It is in order to refer for a general critique of the marriage by capture theory to Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man*, pp. 180-81.

[1] aṇgē is a traditional part of the phrase; its meaning is unknown to the Coorgs, but is conjectured to be the same as that of aruvē.

173 The people will say that she is our wife." One of them replied, "If she comes with us, we will spoil her caste." When they came to Chouripade hill near the Kakabi river, they felt hungry. Then Iluttappa asked her (the sister) to prepare some food. She replied that there was neither rice nor fire. Iluttappa said, "I will give you rice, but you must eat it without salt". The brothers agreed to this. Then she saw a cow, which belonged to the Paradandra house, and she milked her, allowing the milk to fall into an earthern pot full of rice. While her brothers were sleeping in the shade of a tree, she went to the bank of the river and buried the pot in the sand, when it began to boil. She then summoned her brothers to partake of the rice she had prepared. When they had partaken enough, Iluttappa took some rice, threw it into the air and exclaimed, "See how the hail is descending from this sky." The sister was incensed at this act. She took a wooden ladle, gave him a heavy blow, and said, "See how the thunder breaks in the monsoon." The other brothers then laughed at this. While they were sitting together chewing betel, Palurappa said, "Let us see whose betel is reddest." All spat out the betel in their hand, pretending that they were throwing it again into their mouth and chewing. Deluded by this act, the sister threw the betel into her mouth and began to chew. They then declared that she had lost her caste. This decision was confirmed by their brother in Malabar to whom they appealed. Their sister felt very sorry and wept very bitterly. Iluttappa then threw an arrow from Iluttappabetta and directed his sister to follow the direction of the arrow and stay where it fell. Assuming the shape of a crane, she flew towards Ponnanjala. Some Holeyas were working in paddy fields near Karathandra house. She flew upon one of them who became possessed with the devil and ran towards the tree to which the arrow had stuck. The brothers separated into different villages where they settled down. The whole family was afterwards worshipped as gods. Beyturappa had a temple at Beytur in Malabar. The third has one in Malatambira forest in Chomamala in Coorg, the fourth on the Iluttappa hill near Kunjila, the fifth at Palur in Kuyanjarinad, and the sixth Tirnalli-Timmeya at Tirnally in Wynad. A temple was built for Ponnanjalatamma round the tree where the arrow struck. At her annual feast in April, she weeps and is worshipped by the Holeyas. The arrow is seen sticking to the wild mango tree to this day.

174 173 The foregoing traditional accounts go to show that the Coorgs belong to the Ugra race and are the descendants of prince Chandravarma. The first colonists are made out to have migrated from the Kadamba kingdom. Lewis Rice says that it is a conclusion as well consistent with what is known of the Kadamba history as corroborated by the modern annals of Coorg, and with the fact that every dynasty of its Rajas derived their origin from the same region. There are also other traditions which lead

3:Iyer E-5 (no date) 1948 AW5 Coorg AW5

support to the same view. They are narrated in the tales of the adventures of Chandrasekara and Chitrasekara, as expounded by Professor Wilson. They point to the fact that the kinḥs of Jumcha and Coorḥ were of the same race. It is also observed that the aboriginies as represented by the Holeyas were their forerunners in Coorḥ.

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Population

The population of Coorḥ is composed of the following tribes and castes:—

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1. Yerava
2. Kuruba
3. Mal Kudiya
4. Holeya
5. Coorḥ
6. Bant
7. Gauda
8. Heḥḥade
9. Vokkaliḥa

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CHAPTER VII

COORG

101 COORG was primarily inhabited by two distinct communities, the Yeravas and the Coorgs. The Yeravas are the modern representatives of the
• 174 original inhabitants of Coorg who retired to the hills before the southward march of the Aryans and other communities and sought asylum there from aggressive invaders. At a later time, the Coorgs found in the jungles the means of satisfying their hunting propensities while the narrow passes afforded ample scope for their highly developed instincts to carry on their predatory excursions into the country of their wealthier and less warlike neighbours. Even now their fighting and sporting qualities reveal themselves in their socio-religious ceremonies. Their peculiar features are the product of their environment which stimulated a special type of culture among them. The hilly character of the country shielded them from aggression and conquest.

Origin and Early History

141 Sir Thomas Holland describes the Coorgs as the finest race without
174 any exception in Southern India and considers them as even superior to the Brahmans in respect of skin colour, stature and prominence of the nose. They are taller than the Yeravas, have a finer nose, and have a larger head with a distinct tendency towards brachycephalism. Their average cephalic index is 80.6. Dr. Hutton states that " it appears to be a much simpler and more satisfactory view to regard the brachycephalic stock as preceding the Aryans. We may suppose them to have entered into the Indus Valley during the Mohenjo Daro period and to have extended down to the west coast as far as Coorg forming the physical basis of several of the brachycephalic or mesatocephalic castes of Western India."

174 Coorg inscriptions hardly throw any light on the early history of the Coorgs. They show that the province was successively connected with the Ganga dynasty, the Hoysala kings, the Nayaks of Belur, and the Lingayat Rajas of Coorg, as also with those of the Bednur family. It is said that new settlers must have been introduced into the province under various governments. This conjecture is supported by the Kaveri Purana, in its account of Matsyadesa, the Puranic name of Coorg. The Coorg Rajas were themselves aliens to the country and were Lingayats, while the Coorgs were the followers of ancestor-worship. They were the most numerous in the north-west of the province, where they were closely allied to the Mysoreans. In Padinalkanad, the Malayalam element was predominant. Wynad which once formed part of Coorg must have afford-

3:Iyer E-5 (no date) 1948 AW5 Coorg AW5

ed a passage to the immigrants from Malabar. From the above facts, it may be gathered that they were not an unmixed race. The house names of some of the Coorg families indicate Mysore, Tulus or Tamil origin. Their language, demon and ancestor-worship do tend to show that they belong to the Dravidian. Their traits are biologically useful and related to mental capacity and intellectual endowment. Their mountain habitat, climate, food and occupation are responsible for what they are at present, and these factors have differentiated them from the people of the plains. 174

Habitation

The Coorg houses are like those of the Nayars of Kerala. They are situated by the side of their paddy fields on a sheltering slope of Bane-land, surrounded by plantain trees, bastard sago, orange, jack and guava trees. A coffee garden and a small plot of land for the growth of vegetables are not absent on the Hittelmandala land. There is a small pond well stocked with fish. The position and type of building bear an analogy to those of the Nayars of Kerala. The approaches to the Coorg house strongly mark the design of fortification, and tradition goes back to a time of general feuds, when chief fought against chief and clan with clan. Deep trenches with high embankments are visible memorials to the warlike state of affairs in days gone by. These trenches intersect the mountainous district in every direction. 351 342 [171] [137] [245] [712]

A deeply cut passage paved with rough stones and overgrown with shady trees, its sloping side walls decked with a variety of ferns, leads one in angular lines to a doorway passing under an outhouse. Houses are located in the midst of their plantations remote from the public gaze. A paved courtyard is surrounded by stables, store rooms, and servants' quarters, in front of which is the main quadrangular building which has one storey and is raised about three feet from the ground. All the buildings are roofed with bamboo and thatched with rice straw which is annually repaired and renewed. There is an open square hall in the centre known as batte or nundumane, the four sides of which are provided with rooms for the inmates to occupy. In front of the building there is an open verandah which is the reception hall. It is raised and covered with a wooden plank almirah two or three feet broad, so as to form convenient seats for the male members and visitors. From it rise three or four wooden pillars square, round and tapering, and sometimes carved. The floor is well beaten with mud and cleaned with cowdung. The ceiling is of wood, arranged in small compartments. In some, the verandah is separated from the inner hall by a wall with a sort of window or lattice made of wood. It is a contrivance intended for the benefit of the Coorg women who are curious to see visitors. On the right side of the verandah there is a main [824] [356] 342 [237]

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CHAPTER VIII

COORG (Contd.)

IN the absence of a male issue in a house, a daughter is retained and married to a Coorg on condition that the children born are considered as the children of the wife's, and not of the husband's house. Such a husband may have another wife with children in his own house, and these have no share in the property of the other wife. Polygamy is not forbidden, but is seldom practised 858 857 595

It is worthy of note that the Coorgs have no priest to preside over the wedding ceremony. There are no religious functions such as those prevailing among the higher Hindu castes. There are some magical acts, which are related here. The bride's hand is grasped in order that she may be delivered into the hands of her husband. She eats with him on the wedding day to create community of life. Marriage ceremonies in all stages of culture are intended to neutralise the dangers and to make the union safe, prosperous and happy. It referred to the permanent joint life of man and woman, and the essence of the union is the joining together of the bridal pair. The practice of throwing rice may have originated in the idea of giving food to the evil influences to induce them to be propitious and to depart It is considered as a token of blessing. In many cases, it seems to have developed into a sympathetic mode of fertility. At one stage of the wedding, the bride veiled approaches the husband, and they see each other. These ideas may explain the origin of the bridal veil. Besides there is sexual shyness, and the ideas associated with women that these are dangerous as well as improper, and so they lead to effeminacy. Accordingly, the bride spends the wedding days with her girl friends and the bridegroom with young men who in the marriage institution are respectively called bridesmaids and groomsmen. 585 [793]

Polyandry

It has been observed that, in warlike races, the clannish feeling and family spirit often predominate over and absorb individual consciousness and personal rights. Among the Coorgs, family property descends not from father to son, as from generation to generation the eldest member acts as the head of the house. In olden times, the Coorgs are said to have lived in a state of general warfare, chief against chief, and Nadu against Nadu. As a relic of that age, the deep trenches which to this day are found intersecting the country in all directions may be considered. In such an age, destruction of life must have been great. But it was of course the male community that principally suffered in the turmoil. The people must soon 174 726 595 [428]

[74 726 595 have been exterminated under such a state of affairs. But if the surviving brothers were to become the rightful husbands of the widows, a second and an undiminished generation might in time take the place of the fallen. In more recent times, the Rajas used to keep a large number of armed men constantly in attendance on themselves. They were absent from home for weeks and months. On their return, their brothers would have to go to the Palace or accompany the Raja on some hunting or fighting expedition. The brothers at home would then take the place of the absent from home [428] and family. It is clear that the law of inheritance by the sister's son is unknown among the Coorgs. This, according to Richter, affords the strongest proof that polyandry is no Coorg custom.

Widow Marriage

587 Widows may remarry. Should any of the deceased husband's brothers choose to marry her, he may do so or she may be married to any other man. By doing so, she acquires the rights of the second husband and relinquishes all interest in her late husband's property, but not in her children. A second marriage is celebrated in a quiet manner and only the nearer relatives and some of the villagers are invited to the marriage feast. The strewing of rice and other ceremonies are dispensed with. After the removal of signs of widowhood, the bride appears in the apparel of married life.

Divorce

586 A man can divorce an unfaithful wife, but a wife has no remedy against her husband in case of his faithlessness. The Takkas, the Aruva of the house, the Takkas of the village, and some members of the wife's family with her Aruva meet in the hall of the husband's house, when as at betrothal the lamp is put between them; and the Aruva solemnly relinquishes the wife's claim to the husband's property. The children remain in the father's house and the unhappy woman returns with all her belongings to the parental roof. It has to be stated to the credit of Coorg women that such events are very rare.

Pregnancy and Childbirth

844 A woman's first confinement takes place at her mother's house whither she returns after the seventh month of pregnancy. There are no professional midwives among them. The women of the household who have 846 experience for their guidance render all the assistance. A few hours after birth she is bathed in very hot water, and with the abdomen well bound up, she is brought to bed in a lying posture in the best room of the house. This practice is quite at variance with what prevails among other Hindus [783] who relegate a woman in childbirth to an outhouse. Though the period of pollution lasts for seven days, a woman enjoys immunity from all house-

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CHAPTER XI

AMMA COORG

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[162] THE Amma Coorgs belong to the indigenous priesthood of Coorg. They numbered 666 in the Census of 1931, 336 being males and 330 females. Their [776] common name is Amma Kodagas, which would naturally signify Coorgs devoted to the worship of Amma or the goddess of the chief river of the 173 country, the Cauvery. The Brahmans invented a mythical origin which is not in accord with the Cauvery Purana.

As reward for his austerities the sage Kavera was blessed with a daughter, Kaveri, who was proposed to be given in marriage to Agastya, another sage who resided on the Brahmagiris. Kaveri did not accept the proposal. She assumed the shape of a river and fled from the mountain. Agastya in hot pursuit overtook her at Kadianad and persuaded her to submit their dispute to the arbitration of their friends. They called three families of Amma Kodagas and six of Coorgs. The former sided with Agastya and the latter with Kaveri. The Amma Kodagas decided that Kaveri should not be allowed to go. The Coorgs said that a woman should not be forced to marry against her will. This provoked Agastya, who pronounced a curse that the generation of Coorgs should become less, that their women should not tie their garments in front, that the sown rice should not grow, and that their cows should not give milk. But Kaveri Amma who was the patroness of the Coorgs counteracted the curse as well as she could, and said, "The Coorgs shall increase, but the Amma Coorgs decrease, the Coorg women shall tie their garments behind; the sown paddy shall be transplanted, the cows shall be milked after the calves have drunk". So saying, she tried to escape and on being held by Agastya by the border of her garment, she turned to the right and flowed [778] rapidly away. Hence the place where this occurred is called Balamuri (turn- [788] ing to the right). A linga was erected at the spot by the Brahmans. It is 485 yearly visited in the month of *November* at the time of the Kaveri feast by Coorgs and others, who bathe in the river. Dodda Vira Rajendrar built here a rest-house, which, though built a century ago, is in tolerable preser- ● 174 vation. Nothing more is known about the real history of the Amma Coorgs, 793 but a few facts may be given as evidence that they are the remains of an ancient priesthood.

101 The Amma Coorgs observe in common with the Coorgs the great fes- 793 tivals of the country, and act as priests. They dress like Coorgs and at the [796] same time wear the holy thread. It seems that they inclined towards the

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when the turn came to a certain house, the devoted victim made his escape into the jungle. The villagers, after an unsuccessful search, returned to the temple and said to the pújári: "Kalak-ádu" which has a double meaning viz. "Kalake," next year—"ádu," we will give, or "ádu", a goat: and thenceforth only scape-goats were offered. The devotees fast during the day. The he-goat is killed in the afternoon, the blood sprinkled upon a stone, and the flesh eaten. At night the Panikas dressed in red and white striped cotton cloths and their faces covered with metal or bark masks perform their demoniacal dances.

In Mercara-túluq in Ippanivolavádi and in Kádakéri in Hálerinád the villagers sacrifice a kóna or male-buffalo instead of a man. Tied to a tree in a gloomy grove near the temple, the beast is killed by a Méda who cuts off its head with a large knife, but no Coorgs are present at the time. The blood is spilled on a stone under a tree and the flesh eaten by the Médas.

In connection with this sacrifice there are peculiar dances performed by the Coorgs around the temple: the *Kombáta* or *horn-dance*, each man wearing the horns of a spotted deer or stag on his head; the *Pilíáta* or *peacocks'-feather-dance*, the performers being ornamented with peacocks' feathers, and the *Chauriáta* or *yák-tail-dance*, during which the dancers, keeping time, swing yák tails. These ornaments belong to the temple, where they are kept.

In some cases where a particular curse is said by the Kanya to rest upon a house, stable or field, which can only be removed by an extraordinary sacrifice, the ceremony performed seems to be another relic of human sacrifices. The Kanya sends for some of his fraternity, the Panikas or Bannas, and they set to work. A pit is dug in the middle room of the house, or in the yard, or the stable, or the field, as the occasion may require. Into this one of the magicians des-

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Mosjids.—There are but 5 small Mosjids in Coorg, erected by the Mussulmans residing here, whose number does not much exceed one thousand. They are mostly poor people and live chiefly in Mercara, Virájpet and Fraserpet.

g. The Amma-Codagas.

In connection with the preceding subjects, it is natural, to enquire into the condition of the indigenous priesthood. It is clear, that the present intermixture of Hinduism with the more simple religious practices of the Coorgs points back to a time, when the encroaching Brahmins had to encounter popular superstition, upheld by an indigenous priesthood, whose direct descendants the present "Amma-Codagas" seem to be. In language, manners and costume they are hardly to be distinguished from other Coorgs, but are less favoured in appearance; many of them wear the brahminical cord, and all abstain from animal food and fermented liquor. They intermarry with their own people only, a custom which may perhaps hasten their gradual diminution and total extinction, as they constitute but a small portion of the whole population. There are altogether 42 Amma-Codaga houses with 281 inhabitants of whom 97 are men, 90 women and 94 children. They live chiefly in Kiggatnád and Padinálknád, 21 families in the former and 16 in the latter taluq. Like the other Coorgs they are agriculturists and only 3 are in Government service. Their name "Amma-Codaga" or Mother-Coorgs i. e. Coorgs belonging to Mother Kávéri denotes them as men devoted to Kávéri or as priests. With the rest of the Coorg tribe they celebrate in the same manner the great Kávéri and Huttari festivals, but of course as priests performing pûja in their own houses, for they have nothing to do with the Kávéri temple. They have no sacred books or shastras, nor do they exercise any spiritual influence over the people. The history of the old Coorg-priests is shrouded in obscurity. They seem

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795 They seem
to have been of a rude character like the priests of ancient
● 174 Britain and Germany, untractable and disinclined to adopt
793 foreign culture. But the subtilty of the Brahmins gradually
[179] instilled into their minds some priestly notions which made them aspire after superior sanctity by adopting the sacred cord and a brahminical diet. It is said, that Timmappeyah, a Havige-Brahmin, and brother-in-law of the late Rajah, who died in 1868, as Karnika or Treasurer, gained such an influence over the Amma-Codagas, that many of them resolved upon laying aside the Coorg costume and imitating the Brahmins in dress and diet. There are even men amongst the Coorgs who under brahminical influence strive after some sort of sanctity by abstaining from the use of liquors and meat diet and by advancing brahminical interests. Brahminism in Coorg, which found no favour with the Rajahs, appears to be in the ascendency under the liberal patronage of the British Government. If it were not for the rich stipends, drawn from Government by the brahminical institutions in Mercara and Táwunád, their present existence would be more than doubtful. Left to the support of the Coorgs alone, they would long ago have succumbed to starvation, for the essential Coorg customs and religious practices can have little in common with Brahminism. There are old Coorgs who never once went to the Tale-Kávéri játre or had Brahmins perform any ceremony for them in their houses. All their lifetime they could do very well without them. Now the Brahmins find their staunchest supporters chiefly in Kiggatnád taluq and generally amongst the middle-aged Coorgs, and amongst such families whose reception by and assimilation with the Coorg-clan dates back to but recent generations. With them Brahmins are in requisition on many occasions. At the birth
[844] of a Coorg child, they ceremoniously purify the defiled house
[783] by sprinkling holy water within and without, for which they receive a gift in rice. At the Coorg wedding the Pújári of

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[648]
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The people learn them by heart or by writing, using, as already observed, the Canarese alphabet. Some of them, as the Harvest and the Wedding Chant, which show the Kodagu dialect in all its peculiarities, seem to be very old and their authors are unknown. The latter mentions the country as being divided into 35 Nádu or districts, and consequently must have existed previous to the events related in the Rájendranáme, in which the country is differently divided and which begins with the year 1633. Others are of a more recent date and contain numerous modern Canarese expressions. In fact with slight modifications the set poetical phrases of the old stock serve the Coorg bard on any occasion for new compositions; but these are usually local and trivial and obtain no circulation. The author of the epic song on the war with Hyder Ali and Tippu Sultan, which, however, has no poetical merit, is Boppanda Mádeya who died in 1868; and the Queen's Song, which testifies to the loyalty of the Coorgs, was composed by Chókandra Appeya in 1839. Of these songs little was known until my late Assistant, Mr. Graeter, took up the subject and after his study of the Kodagu dialect made them accessible to the English reader in the translation given.

Reflecting the Coorg mind in its own language, and uninfluenced by European culture, these songs are highly interesting and in their simple beauty often evince considerable poetical merit, whilst others please by the vein of hearty good humour, that runs through their lines.

The rules of Hindu versification do not apply to the Coorg songs; these are cast in a less artistic mould and have something of the free mountain air about them. It is true, they move not in the gay, iambic foot; the more dignified trochaic measure suits the Coorg mind better; each line contains 7 or 8 syllables, but the accent is not carefully observed, nor is there either rhyme or alliteration. In its simple form the

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with the arrow and stay where it fell. The arrow struck into a mango tree at Ponnangála in the village of Yawakkapádi. Ponnangálatamma, assuming the shape of a crane, flew towards Ponnangála. Near the Karatandra house some Holeyas were working in the paddy fields. Ponnangálatamma flew upon one of them, who became possessed with a devil, and ran towards the tree, in which the arrow was sticking. The brothers afterwards separated into different villages, where they settled. The whole family were afterwards worshipped as gods. Beytúrappa has a temple at Beytur in Málabar, the second in Taliparambu in Malabar, the third in the Maletambira forest in the Chómamale in Coorg, the fourth on the Iguttappa-hill near Kunjila, the fifth at Páldr in Kuyangérinád, the sixth, Tirnalli-Timmeya at Tirnally in the Wynád. A temple was also built for Ponnangálatamma round the tree, where the arrow had stuck. At her annual feast, in April, Ponnangálatamma weeps, and is worshipped by the Holeyas. The arrow is, up to the present day, seen sticking in the wild mango tree.

Regarding the ancient government of Coorg the popular tradition states, that the country was divided into 12 Kómbus (districts) and 35 Náds (subdivisions) ruled over by petty chiefs, called Náyakas who lived in constant feuds amongst themselves and gradually succumbed to the wily encroachments of the Háleri-Polygars about whom more anon.

3. CONJECTURES REGARDING THE ORIGIN AND EARLY HISTORY OF THE COORGS.

In the absence of any reliable records prior to the Mussulman historian Ferishta who at the end of the 16th century casually mentions, that Coorg was governed by its own princes, our conjectures regarding its history anterior to this period are but guesses at the truth, based upon collateral circum-

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174 stances, the nucleus of brahminical legends and Coorg traditions.

[101] The name "Coorg", which is a corruption of the native name "Kodagu" needs not the elaborate and forced derivation of the Kávéri-Puráṇa however well it may have served its purpose to mystify the natives. "Kodi" means in the Coorg dialect a top or peak, and Kodagu in Canarese signifies the same, so that "Kodagu" is emphatically the *Mountainous country*.

[197] [791] We have seen that the Coorg language and the ante-brahminical demon- and ancestor-worship are rooted in the Dravidian stock; we need therefore not go beyond the Dravidian family, to seek the origin of the Coorgs. They are certainly not the offspring of the Kshetria Pándus, as some brahminised Coorgs would have it, for the Pándus had perished in the snows of the Himalayas centuries before the Coorgs through the Mahá Bhárata even heard of their existence. It is however not unlikely, that the Coorgs were somehow connected with the Pándya kingdom which flourished in the south of India perhaps in the fifth century before Christ; but the Mahá Bhárata Pándus have nothing to do with this Pándyan kingdom, whose rulers were not Kshetrias, but belonged to the agricultural class. Like the Nairs in Malabar, the Bants and Tulu Gaudas in Canara and the Vokkaligas and Gaudas of Nagara, the Coorgs are—in the brahminical scale—Súdras. The original inhabitants of Coorg were very likely a branch of the cognate South-Indian tribes, and their number may have been augmented by immigrants from the countries just named, who settled at various periods, perhaps under the pressure of national calamities, or attracted by the sheltering forests and fertile soil of Coorg. The now ruined fort Pálpáre five miles to the east of Ponapét in Kiggatnád, is said to have been built by the Béda- or hunter-tribe; the tradition of the Padinalknád Coorgs already na-

[564] [197] 174 167

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870)1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

rrated, as well as Malayálam influence on Coorg superstition, points to a settlement of Malayálam immigrants, and it is not unlikely, that in the days of the formidable Bellála dynasty, which was, or pretended to be, of the Yádu branch of the Rájputs, a military settlement was effected in Coorg, as the Bellála Rájahs held sway over the whole of Karnata together with Malabar, the Tamil country and part of Telingana. When this kingdom was subverted by the Mlénchhas or Musulmans about A. D. 1310 or 11, under Káfur, the western provinces and Coorg amongst them seem to have escaped the ravages of the conquerors, but ten years later Khusru was sent to complete the work of destruction; it is, however, supposed that the expedition extended only to Coorg (vide Elphinstone's and Marshman's Historics of India). This Mussulman conquest in the Deccan was of short duration. In 1336 already their possessions passed into the hands of the Vijayanagara kingdom and there can be little doubt, but that Coorg was included amongst its dominions, perhaps as an outlying neglected and wild jungle district, at least there are no records whatever in token of an early state of civilization. Col. Wilks in his History of Mysore Vol. II. p. 103 states, that the Coorgs are conjectured "to be descended from the conquering army of the Cadumba kings," whose capital was Banawási, in the southeast corner of the present Soonda or Sóde district of North-Canara. On what evidence this conjecture is based, he does not explain. It points, however, to the same conclusion, that a military settlement of some branch of the neighbouring ruling dynasties was effected in Coorg and this opinion is also supported by the Kávéri-Purána in its account of *Matsyadésha*, the puránic name of Coorg, as already stated. After the battle of Tálicóta in January 1565, the monarchy of Vijayanagara and with it the Hindu power of Southern India were broken and the country fell into the hands of petty princes or of those insurgent officers of

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when feeling sure of his position, he imposed upon his followers instead of the voluntary Dhúli-batta (dusty-grain) a regular tax of one and a half butty of rice and nine annas eight pies in cash per house per annum. His next step was to call upon the people, in alternate parties to guard his dwelling on the Háleri farm. These watchmen were called *Chaudigara*, a name ever afterwards retained for the Coorg Rájahs' troops. Having openly declared himself and being acknowledged by his adherents ruler of Háleri and of the surrounding Náds, the Padinalknád Karanembán Náyaka also submitted and so did the others under the condition, that they should receive three-fourths of the revenue and pay one-fourth to the Háleri chief. His increasing power soon threatened the safety of the Coorg Náyakas, who at last were put to death and the whole country brought under the Háleri government. 175 643 648 643 648 174 177

That the Coorg Rájahs were aliens to the country is evident from the fact, that they were Lingaites, whilst the Coorgs maintained their own crude form of demon- and ancestor-worship and rarely joined the Shivácháries. These are most numerous in north-east Coorg where the people are closely allied with the Mysoreans, and where the influence of the Rájahs was naturally greatest. Again in Padinalknád the Malayálam element seems to be predominant, whilst in Táwnnád, Bengnád and Surlabimuttanád the Tulu Gaudas and Bants make their influence felt. If a further proof were required to show that the Coorgs are a mixed race, I need only mention, that besides the striking difference in features and colour of the Coorgs, varying between the Caucasian and Mongolian physiognomy and between a fair and dark skin, the house-names also of many Coorg families clearly point to Mysore, Tamil, Malayálam or Tulu origin. Even within the memory of the present generation strangers were received by and incorporated with the Coorgs. There is now a dispute pending about six families in Kiggatnád, who ten years [795] [771] [144] [578]

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643 ago were, by the Head-Sheristadar Nanchappa, received as
648 Coorgs, but after his death were expelled from the clan by
174 the rest of the Coorg people. The settlement of the dispute
177 will perhaps be only a matter of time, but not of intrinsic
[578] caste spirit which as such is inconsistent with the notorious
[564] Coorg practice of assimilating cognate tribes into one clan, and with the fact, that during the Seringapatam captivity of thousands of Coorg families by Tippu Sultan, most of them were forcibly made Mussulmans and, though on the return to their country, they abjured Islam, the very process of circumcision deprived them of their previous caste—in a brahminical sense—and rendered that of their descendents defective. The renown of the Coorgs lies certainly not in the purity and antiquity of their genealogy, but in the union and strength of so many discordant elements into one compact body or clan, that bravely fought on every occasion of danger for the honour and safety of their adopted country, whether under the leadership of their own Náyakas or their alien Rájahs, and there can be no doubt that they would in time of need, with equal loyalty rally round the standard of their English Rulers!

619 To the question, how such a conglomerate of divers tribes
186 could have been formed into an almost homogenous body,
175 I would reply, that what might perhaps have been impossible
[628] amongst a civilized and politically powerful state, was a com-
[648] paratively easy process in a small uncivilized and secluded hill-country, which, seldom influenced by the politics of its more powerful neighbours, and in blissful ignorance undisturbed by subtle religious disputes, vented its savage strength in intestine feuds, till the despotic hand of the alien usurper subjected the turbulent chiefs, and united them and their adherents in deadly combat against common foes or for marauding expeditions. Their defeats as well as their achievements originated and strengthened national sympathies which time matured into a healthy spirit of clanship, that asserted

[For historical sketches of cities, see category 369 or Index, category 116, 6: Spate AW1 India.]